586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[781] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461]

1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

553 neighborhood children are then invited to eat a dish consisting of a gruel of sorghum and beans. But before eating they wait for the child to relieve himself, hence the name of this meal, ubunyano (from kunya, to defecate). Then the father recites a few names he would like to give the child, and those present choose one of them. If the parents have already lost a child, in order to turn away the evil spirits, the newborn child is baptized with an objectionable name such as Kangurube (little pig child). The same day the husband is obliged to have intercourse with his wife lest a misfortune happen to the child.

[845] Twins (impanga) are given names that resemble each other, Karengera and Karinganire for example. [36]

851 The rule pater is est quem nuptiae demonstrant is universally
848 applied. Normally, therefore, the husband is the child's father and
[611] filiation is established in the paternal line. Children born after the father's death are considered legitimate if the wife was pregnant at the time of his death.

There is no special word to designate the legitimate child.

However, the rule mentioned above has certain exceptions. If a man marries an ikinyandaro, the child to be born, who is only an umusambanano for the husband, will belong to his natural father. But the husband may claim that the child is his if at the time of the marriage the girl is only a few months pregnant.

It may happen that a girl does not know the name of the man who has taken her (1). The natural child then belongs to the inzu of

1. This is especially the case with abajakazi (mistress-servants), who live at the Mwami's Court or with the great chiefs and who are put at the disposal of their master's guests.

the girl's father. Today there are many ibyomanzi who, eager for their independence, have left their parents and wander throughout the country. Their children are called abana b'umugore, but they do not belong to the maternal inzu, for the ibyomanzi no longer have any family.

The adulterine child belongs to the husband because of the dowry that has been paid. If the dowry has not been paid, the child is supposed to belong to the family of his mother's father. The incestuous child belongs to the husband. When a child is born to an unmarried

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffocation). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is
[826] born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is
553 able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

644 since more than once with his neophyte executioners, who did not
661 fail to congratulate him with some embarrassment while apologizing
696 for the odious task which had been entrusted to them. "Some luck thou had!" they already told him (wagiz' Imana). "What an ugly business the king had entrusted to us!"

"Good for thee, if you managed to get out of such a tight corner." A little later he was even presented to the king, who was first taken aback. He recovered himself quickly and congratulated him in turn. "It was God who saved you (N'Imana yagukijije)," he added. In gratitude to God, Who had rescued him from such a difficult situation, the lucky fugitive changed his name from Ngirimandwa [553] ("The spirits of the initiates are on my side") to Ngirimana, which means "I have God (on my side)."

After a whole string of circumstances, all equally eventful and dramatic, the outcome had finally turned out in Ngirimandwa's favor.

For one fugitive who was able to narrate in detail the vicissitudes of the drama that nearly killed him, however, how many unfortunate ones vanished into the fatal den without a trace!

Now that the times have changed, elders whose lips were formerly sealed by the rule of secrecy and by the fear of corporal punishment, freely mention the names of unfortunate executed men they knew. They recall among many others a young man who had been a page. /480/ His intelligence, ability, and liveliness had drawn the notice of the sovereign to him, who made him his favorite and could not do without him. As in the previous case the years went by and the prince's favor was transferred elsewhere.

[539] "A king's friendship, a day's friendship," says the proverb.

He had been practically forsaken and was hardly noticed anymore, when one day he was requested to work in the famous "bloody hut."

What had he done that his fate should be so irreparably settled? That is practically unknown.

About eight days after he had received his new job, he was summoned in great haste as though for some pressing errand. It was

852 If the child is a girl, the mother gives her: lugori, a head band of corn straw which is a symbol of motherhood; luhindu, a needle; and ntamyi, a papyrus thread.

In describing this ceremony, Father P. Schumacher (1) says

1. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, p. 901.

that the child, be it boy or girl, is also presented with hoes with which invited children cultivate a piece of land one square meter in size at the spot where the child's uncleanliness is buried. This ceremony is called kusohora and takes place on the eighth day after birth. Present at the ceremony are the child and the mother, shaved for the first time since her confinement.

553 The next day the child is given a name. In Kissaka it is said that children are not named until they are three or four months old. The grandfather names the son, and the grandmother names the daughter. At this ceremony the child is laid on the ground before sunrise and called by its name. If a child has not been born 551 within the house, it is given a special name. In that case a boy is called Maira, and a girl, Nanzira. Besides these names, children are given other names, even those of strangers. Some of these are nicknames and often replace the regular names.

We must also mention that everyone has not only his personal name and the name of his clan, but also the name of his umuzimu, that is, of the ancestral spirit which remains in contact with him. I could not find out any details about this. It seems that the name of the spirit to which the child must make offerings and build a spirit hut (ndaro) is used as the child's second name.

Besides these names people also have boastful names. Father Schumacher (2) says: "Every Munyaruanda, or at least every warrior,

2. Ibid., p. 895.

has a kivugo, that is, a nickname that extols his outstanding characteristics, especially the warlike ones. The byivugo (plural)

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refrain from decisions which could have impaired the economic production of the country, such as requiring tributes which were too heavy, or which could have lowered the level of personal security to such an extent that people would have preferred to flee abroad.[33] Moreover, profound legislative modifications would have roused the resistance of the *biru*. Nevertheless, his powers were still extremely great. A fact which reinforced and consolidated them was the tradition of the long past of the dynasty. The present mwami, Mutara III Rudahigwa is regarded as the fortieth king of Ruanda. Even if the first twenty names are considered as legendary, three or four centuries is a considerable past for a dynasty. The Abanyiginya clan has indeed been able to keep the kingship of Ruanda as long as kings are remembered.

The mwami was not only of divine origin but he was Ruanda personified. This mystical identification with the country resulted in numerous avoidances and a very careful behaviour was expected from the mwami. What happened to him would reverberate, as it were, over the country. He should not bend his knees, for instance, lest Ruanda's territory would shrink.

Royal succession was not completely fixed by custom. The heir was chosen by the king from among his sons. He was generally one of the youngest because the strength of Ruanda was magically connected with the king's strength. The name of the chosen one was kept secret. Even the future mwami did not know it. It was revealed only after the king's death by the three most important biru whom the mwami had entrusted with his decision. The other sons and their mothers generally did not agree willingly to the choice and there was often a period of unrest, even of civil war, before the new mwami became an effective ruler.[34]

A new name was given to the new king, one of the five royal names which were chosen according to the same sequence: Cyrilima, Kigeli, Nibambwe, Yuhi, Mutara. The kings named Cyilima, Yuhi, and Mutara were called 'peaceful bami'. They were not allowed to cross the Nyabarongo, a river which runs in the centre of the country, not far from Nyanza, the capital, and this symbolized the fact that they should not send their armies abroad. This rule very wisely allowed the country to recuperate and to assimilate new territories conquered during a preceding warlike reign.

[33] Maquet, 1955. [34] See Gluckman, 1954, p. 8.